ا throughout for the acc./dat.obl. singular ending -â and ے the gen. singular ending -e.

There are thus many unsolved problems in the orthography of Balochi, and some of the most progressive writers would therefore like to abandon the Arabic script completely and turn to Roman script. Such a change of scripts is, however, by most of the literary men I talked to, regarded as impossible to carry out at present, both because all neighbouring languages employ the Arabic script, and also because of the total lack of authority to enforce any such reform.

It is my hope that the dissertation will give a correct and adequate picture of the present state of language standardization and orthography of Balochi, and that it will thus be a tool in the hands of the learned Baloch themselves as they strive towards establishing an orthographic norm and also in the long run towards creating a standard literary language to be used by all Baloch.

بلوچی سبز بات

baločî sabz bât

'May Balochi be green (i.e. prosperous)!'

Notes

1. In G. Gnoli and A. V. Rossi (eds.), *Iranica*, Napoli 1979, pp. 161-232.

2. 1951-1965, 45 pp.; 1970-1974, 123 pp.; 1979-1987, 258 pp.

3. Ergative construction does occur in Rakhshani as well, according to J. Elfenbein, *The Baluchi Language*, p. 19, especially in the southern, Rakhshani-speaking areas.

4. The Kechi and Lashari (Lotuni) dialects, described by Elfenbein in *The Baluchi Language*, pp. 22-24. These dialects are here, together with the Coastal dialects, treated as sub-dialects of Makrani.

8) whether to write the verbal prefixes *bi-*, *ma-*, and *na-* separately or together with the verb;

9) the writing of infinitives.

By doing this quantitative investigation I hope to find out what writings are at present favored by the Baloch.

3 *Conclusions*

This is, as already mentioned, a strongly felt need and desire among the Baloch themselves to bring into being a standard literary language with a fixed orthography, and also to be able to introduce the teaching of Balochi into the primary school education in Pakistani Balochistan. However, there is also a danger that the standardization will proceed too fast. Most people interviewed feel that each writer has the right to use his own dialect when he writes, and that a standard literary language will develop naturally as Balochi is more and more employed in writing.

On orthographic issues, however, more normative ideas are expressed by the Baloch. There are those who desire to keep as close a link between Balochi and Arabic as possible, and give religious justifications for this viewpoint. Whenever the issue of Roman script is raised, they strongly oppose it, and they also reject any attempt at changing the orthography of Arabic loanwords to suit the Balochi phonological system. Against these ideas, many of the progressive forces, often with leftist sympathies, follow the policy outlined by Sayyid Hashimi of omitting ق ف غ ع ظ ط ض ص ذ خ ح ث from the orthography of western Balochi. This means, of course, that the spelling of loanwords from Arabic and Persian is changed to suit the Balochi phonology.

On the other hand, Sayyid Hashimi was one of the first to introduce several morphophonemic spellings in Balochi, some of which (especially ؠ for the acc./dat.obl. singular ending *-â* and ؠ for the gen. singular ending *-e*) are now commonly used by most Baloch writers. When it comes to ؠ for و 'and', ؠ for the second person singular verbal ending *-e*, ؠ for the third person singular enclitic pronoun *-e* etc., there is much less agreement on whether to use the morphophonemic writing or the normal way of representing /u/ (ۏ) and /e/ (ے). In this context it also ought to be mentioned that some voices have recently been raised to abolish all morphophonemic writing whatsoever, and even use

'Unqâ/Âzât Jamâldînî, the Sayyid Hâshimî and the Ḥâjî 'Abdul Qayyûm systems) are presented. Then the problem of phonological differences between the western and the eastern dialect groups, and an attempt made by the Balochi Academy, Quetta at developing an orthography that hides these phonological differences is presented.

The issue of Roman script and the orthographic congress held in Quetta in 1972, where it was decided to change over to Roman script (a decision which, however, led to nothing) is also mentioned, as well as arguments put forward by present-day advocates of Roman script. In this context, a general discussion of how political and religious viewpoints influence the Balochi script/orthography debate is also presented. Finally opinions expressed by the Baloch writers interviewed on specific orthographic points are quoted.

Then I investigate actual text samples, first from the early publications of the 1950's, thereafter different ways of representing eastern Balochi, followed by the orthographic systems used in Iran and Afghanistan, and finally the systems employed in currently published periodicals and by now existing academies in Pakistan.

In this chapter a quantitative investigation is also made. It is based on approximately 100 pages from a variety of books and magazines published by different academies and private publishers from 1980 onwards. In these texts I have selected nine different orthographic points on which there is no final agreement among the Baloch writers. These nine points are:

1) the use of 'Arabic/Persian' letters that do not represent any phoneme in western Balochi;

2) the writing of the acc./dat.obl. ending singular -â;

3) the representation of different morphemes pronounced *e*;

4) the writing of *u* 'and';

5) whether to write verbal endings together with the stem or not;

6) the use of ں (*nun yunna*) versus ن *nun*;

7) how to spell the words *kay* 'who', *may* 'our', *šumay* 'your' (pl.), *say* 'three', *kai* 'whose', and *tai* 'your' (sg.);

is possible to see any change in the character of texts over time. Therefore, approximately 430 pages of text from books and magazines published within three different periods of time[2] written by authors from different parts of Balochistan representing both the Rakhshani and the Makrani dialects, are selected. In these texts eight features in which these two dialects differ are studied. These dialect features are:

1) *kurt* (Rakhshani) versus *kut* (Makrani), past stem of the verb 'to do'

2) The active (Rakhshani) versus the ergative (Makrani) construction in past tenses of transitive verbs[3]

3) Past participles in *-ht-* (Rakhshani, e.g. *âhta* 'come') versus *-tk-* (Makrani *âtka*)

4) *-s* (Rakhshani e.g. *mâs* 'mother', *pis* 'father', *brâs* 'brother') versus *-t* (Makrani *mât*, *pit*, *brât*)

5) The vocabulary items *gis* 'house' and *zahg/zâg* 'child' (Rakhshani) versus *log* 'house' and *čukk* 'child' (Makrani)

6) *û* (Rakhshani and northern Makrani[4] e.g. *sûr* 'wedding') versus *î* (southern Makrani *sîr*).

7) Different verbal endings in the first person singular and plural of the present tense. Rakhshani normally has *-în* and Makrani *-ân* in the singular. In the plural the common Rakhshani ending is *-an*, whereas Makrani has *-en*. However, other endings also occur, and the eastern Balochi first person plural ending *-ûn* is sometimes encountered in texts of basically western type

8) *-w-* (northern Rakhshani), *-y-* (southern Rakhshani) and *-h-* (Makrani) epenthesis (e.g. *âwân/âyân/âhân* 'them').

2.3 *Orthography*

In the chapter dealing with orthography I first briefly describe the scripts and orthographies used in manuscripts and books written before the independence of Pakistan. Script and orthography issues raised after the independence of Pakistan are thereafter treated in detail.

First the different orthographic systems which developed within the Arabic script (the Muḥammad Ḥusayn

between the Rakhshani and the Makrani dialects. In a second part of the same chapter I present text samples that show how national and international languages of the different countries where Balochi is spoken influence the language in different directions, a factor that may hamper the the standardization process. Finally the phonemes of the two dialect groups, western and eastern Balochi, are analyzed, with reference to the summary of the subject made by Adriano Rossi in "Phonemics in Balōčī and modern dialectology".[1]

2.2 *Language Standardization*

The main part of the dissertation is divided into a chapter describing the actual language standardization and another dealing with orthography.

In the chapter dealing with language standardization, first of all, the problem of creating and enforcing a single standard language for all Baloch is stressed. This is due both to the fact that Balochi is spoken in several different countries (Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, the Soviet Union, the Gulf States), and also to the fact that the Balochi language neither enjoys official status nor is used in the educational system of any of these countries.

However, the literarily active Baloch express a desire to create one standard literary language, and, both in articles found in different magazines and in the interviews I made, they give their opinion on what dialect, or dialects, ought to constitute the basis for such a standard language. These opinions are presented, and in this context reference is also made to the prestige of different dialects.

Another important factor in the standardization process referred to is the role of the media (radio, television and the press), among which at least radio has played an important part in increasing mutual intelligibility between the different dialects. Valuable information on this subject has been obtained from Mr. Bashir Ahmad Baloch, the station director of Radio Pakistan in Quetta, now also Chairman, Baluchi Academy, Quetta.

I then go on to investigate the percentage of publications in either of the two main dialect groups, comparing the present situation with that of the late 1960's and early 1970's. Finding that the western dialect block is more and more predominant, I then attempt to determine whether pure Rakhshani, pure Makrani, or a dialect mixture is the most frequently occurring form, and also whether it

On the basis of this material I am writing a Ph.D. dissertation, which I plan to finish by early 1989. A final check of its contents has been carried out during a second trip to Pakistan (April - May 1988).

2 *Contents of the Dissertation*

2.1 *Introductory Chapters*

In the first chapter Balochi oral and written literature is presented. The written literature is divided into works written during the colonial period, when most of the existing literature can be attributed to external, mainly British, influence, and works written after the independence of Pakistan, when the Baloch themselves were increasingly concerned to develop Balochi into a written language. Literary activities taking place outside Pakistan are also referred to.

The second chapter gives a theoretical background to the problems of creating a standard literary language with a fixed orthography. Especially the different theories on the relation between spoken and written language and their impact on orthographic issues are analyzed. Non-linguistic (religious, political, social) factors that can influence orthographic decisions are also treated, as well as the special problems presented by the orthography of loanwords. Finally the possibility of carrying through orthographic reforms is discussed with the latinization of Turkish as a concrete example.

In the next chapter the development of a standard literary language and the orthographies of other New Iranian languages (New Persian, Tajik, Ossetic, Pashto and Kurdish) are described for the purpose of comparison.

As a background to the two main chapters I then give an outline of the different dialects of Balochi. Since I have made no specific studies of dialects myself, I mainly rely on scientific research carried out by other scholars, notably Wilhelm Geiger, Georg Morgenstierne and Josef Elfenbein. I also quote opinions on dialects of Balochi expressed by the Baloch themselves. On the basis of this, I decide on a dialect division which is both in general agreement with previous research and also proves practical for the purpose of this study. I choose to divide Balochi into two main dialect groups, western and eastern Balochi. Within western Balochi I also make a further distinction

language, as it is spread to and accepted by, speakers of dialects other than the one that constitutes the basis for the standard. At the time when the dialect basis of the standard language is set up, an orthography must also be decided on, deviations from which will be regarded as spelling mistakes, once the norm has been established and has won acceptance among writers and readers of the language. Such a standard language with a fixed orthography can either develop as a natural process over a long period of time or through more deliberate decisions by the government, academies and/or gatherings of prominent writers in the language. If such deliberate language planning is to be successful it is very important that there should exist some kind of authority to implement the decisions made.

I am currently making a study to determine whether there is any tendency towards such a standardization in the written Balochi language of today, both regarding the development of a standard literary language, and also concerning the creation of an orthographic norm. In order to make such an investigation it is necessary to acquire a good grasp of the language with its different dialects, as well as to obtain material (books, magazines, etc.) for this purpose. It is likewise important to get a good picture of the literary activities among the Baloch themselves and of their own ideas about language standardization and orthography.

I therefore spent three months (November 1986 - January 1987) in Pakistan, where I visited Quetta and Karachi, the two traditional centers of Balochi literary activities. Besides studying the language together with Mrs. Zinat Sana Baloch, at the time an M.A. student of Balochi at the University of Balochistan, Quetta, and at present a lecturer of Balochi at the same university, I was able to gather much valuable information with the assistance of Abdullah Jan Jamaldini and Mir Aqil Khan Mengal, both professors of Balochi at the above-mentioned university. They helped me to find valuable articles on the creation of a standard language, and especially on orthography, published in different magazines, and they also advised me as to what writers I ought to interview on these issues. Altogether I was able to interview some thirty literary men (and one woman!) both in Quetta and Karachi. I was thus able to get a good picture of the work of the existing academies, the publishing situation (books and magazines)), and different opinions on language standardization and orthography. I was also able to obtain many books in Balochi and subscribe to currently published magazines.

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Language Standardization and Orthography in Balochi

by Carina Jahani

1 Background

Whenever speakers of a language seek or attain political and/or cultural independence, they also work towards setting up a standard language, a written form of the language, which is to serve as the correct norm for all the users of the language. It will also carry the function of official language in the community, and be transferred to the next generation through the educational system. Such conditions were created for the Balochi language in 1947, when the state of Pakistan was established. Not that Balochi was given any official status or used in the educational system, but the Baloch themselves were awakened to the fact that if they were to have any chance of preserving their language in the long run, they would have to develop it into a written language and create literature in it.

When a number of different dialects exist, as in Balochi, there are two main ways of developing a standard literary language. Either one dialect can be promoted as the standard, or else the policy can be to strive to achieve a maximal mixture of different dialects in the standard language. Even if the first policy is adopted, certain traits from dialects other than the one chosen to be the standard will probably find their way into the standard